

Social Questions Bulletin

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, founded in 1907, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives, the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decisions, not by violence.

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May-June, 1961

No. 5

Who Uses Violence?

A hackneyed phrase, "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," is commonly used to describe the communists. But who actually employs violence in American life?

Names of Sadism

One sees the answer in the streets of Montgomery, Alabama: hoodlums beating Negro freedom Riders with sticks and metal while white women cheered, "Get those nig-

ger white women using pocketbooks to beat students!

Newsman beaten and cameras smashed! A to fifteen men beating one Negro!

Robbers knocking students to the pavement, men jumping up and on them!

Ambulance chased men left lying unconscious in the street!

Students' suitcases ripped from their hands, shed, their contents on over the street!

Letters, school-books, torn bits of clothing—the debris of this savagery—piled up in the street and burned! What does this remind you of?

The hundred hoodlums, stoning and burning a bus in Boston, Alabama, shouted Heil Hitler! and Sieg Heil!

James Peck, editor of *Corelater* (published by the Commission on Racial Equality), who was beaten when his bus was burned in Birmingham, had to have 53 stitches taken in his head. He said: "I feel no malice toward the group, but some toward the people who whip them up—(Governors) Fau-

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Behind the Headlines

Over all the headlines calling attention to crucial situations the world around there falls the shadow of greater disaster waiting in the background. It comes from what our government has done in Cuba, and what the President has said he will do there, under the circumstances.

The facts concerning our behavior toward Cuba are beyond dispute. They have been widely stated in the daily and weekly press. The Secretary of State confirmed them in summary when he told the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs that the United States had trained, financed and equipped the forces which attacked Cuba. He should have added, "transported." Prisoners from the attacking force have stated that their landing boats were escorted by U. S. destroyers and submarines. On finances, *Time* (January 27) reported U. S. "big business," which had been operating in Cuba, was giving from \$135,000 to \$500,000 monthly to the

CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) for the Cuban underground. The purpose of this invasion was to establish a beach-head, fly the officials of a provisional government onto it, which we would immediately recognize, and then support, if civil war followed.

Central Intelligence Agency

This adventure was planned and organized by the CIA. It was approved by the majority of the President's advisers on foreign policy, by the departments concerned (the Joint Chiefs of Staff qualifying their approval by "if the CIA

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1961 ANNUAL MEETING

JULY 25-27

Central State College WILBERFORCE, OHIO

Program and Speakers on Page 26.

The cost of food and lodging is \$11 per person.
Registration fee is \$2. Please send this in advance to

11 Forest Boulevard
Ardleys, New York

We have capable people on the program, who will deal with urgent issues. Let us have an encouraging attendance. Please plan to come. Arrange car pools.

Bring some money for books and magazines.

If you cannot come, try and send a contribution to help with the expenses of the meeting. Send greetings, if you are unable to come.

Out of this meeting we wish to develop a Federation program.

In the fall we plan to relate the proceedings of the annual meeting to our members and prospective friends in various sections of the country.

Annual Meeting Program

Tuesday July 25: 5:00 p.m. Registration and unpacking.
 6:00: Dinner. Greetings from President Loyd F. Worley.
 7:45: Worship: The Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson.
 8:00: Dr. Louise Pettibone Smith.
 Wednesday July 26: 8:45: Worship.
 9:00: Dr. A. Dudley Ward.
 10:00: Coffee Break.
 10:30: The Rev. William Baird.
 12:00: Luncheon.
 2:00: The Rev. Richard Morford.
 4:00: Free Time.
 3:30: Dr. Louise Pettibone Smith.
 6:00: Dinner.
 7:30: Mrs. Sumpter Riley, Jr.
 8:30: Mr. Edward Shaw.
 Thursday July 27: 8:45: Worship.
 9:00: Report of the Executive Secretary, the Rev. Lee H. Ball. Business Session.
 10:00: Coffee Break.
 10:30: Business Session.
 Discussion of Resolutions, the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, chairman.
 11:30: The Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg.
 12:00: Luncheon.

Who's Who on the Program

The Rev. Loyd F. Worley, of the First Methodist Church, Hartford, Connecticut, for eight years has been president of the MFSA, holding it together in perhaps its most critical period. He is an indefatigable soul, recovering from a heart attack suffered last winter, due to overwork in many good causes. Dr. and Mrs. Worley plan a trip to India this winter to visit the Rev. and Mrs. William A. Studwell, MFSA members, their son-in-law and daughter, in New Delhi.

The Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, formerly superintendent of the Columbus District, Lexington Conference, has just been transferred to the Scott Methodist Church, Detroit, which has 3000 members. He is a vice president of the MFSA, co-chairman of the Religious Freedom Committee, chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Operation Freedom (Tent City).

Dr. Louis Pettibone Smith, MFSA member, formerly of Wellesley College, long chairman of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, has been in Europe from September to June, visiting both Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Poland and Hungary. Tuesday evening she will give us impressions of her trip. Wednesday

afternoon she will present the problems confronting our foreign born.

Dr. A. Dudley Ward, of Chicago, is chairman of the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs, of the Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church. He will speak of the Board's program, and of the need for an economic alternative to the Cold War.

The Rev. William Baird is the minister of the Essex Community Congregational Church, in Chicago; and is the Executive Director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. He will speak about the condition of civil liberties in our country.

The Rev. Richard Morford of New York has long been director of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, and is a member of the MFSA Administrative Committee. He will speak about US-USSR relations, the conference to ban nuclear tests, and the imperative of mutual disarmament.

Mrs. Sumpter Riley, Jr. teaches school in Cleveland, is the wife of the energetic minister of the Corey Methodist Church there, is an MFSA member, and is a graduate of the School of Speech of Northwestern University. She will talk of the tremendous struggle for civil rights . . . sit-ins . . . Freedom Riders.

Mr. Edward Shaw of Detroit is mid-west representative of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He will talk about what is happening in Cuba, and what portends for colonialism in this era of the Cold War.

The Rev. Jack R. McMichael, long the distinguished executive secretary of our MFSA and editor of our "Social Questions Bulletin", is minister of Grace Methodist Church, Stockton, California, candidate for a Ph. D. degree from Columbia University. He has weathered many a storm. He is chairman of our committee on resolutions.

The Rev. Edgar T. Wahlberg, Dearborn, Michigan, has been minister of the Mount Olivet Community Methodist Church for thirteen years. The MFSA has no more devoted friends than "Wally" and his wife "Jimmy." His message will close our annual meeting.

Change of Name? Mast Head

The word "Federation" was originally put in our name when the Methodist Episcopal Church; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; were in existence, to indicate that we welcomed members in each. Since now these churches have been merged into one Methodist Church,

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METHODIST FEDERATION for SOCIAL ACTION

An unofficial fellowship founded in 1907

President, Dr. Loyd F. Worley. Vice Presidents, Rev. Frederick E. Ball, Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Rev. Edward L. Peet, Rev. Elwin L. Wilson. Recording Secretary, Mr. Frederic H. Bidwell. Treasurer, Mr. Robert F. Beach.

Executive Secretary and Editor "Social Questions Bulletin," Rev. Lee H. Ball, 11 Forest Blvd., Ardsley, New York
 West Coast Field Secretary, Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin
 P.O. Box 327, Grasham, Oregon.

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A BUCK A MONTH

We seek to double our income, that we may more effectively reach members of The Methodist Church, and other friends, to help alert them on social issues, and encourage them to social action.

Each month we enclose a reply envelope. We ask for your Buck a Month—in addition to your subscription or annual membership contribution.

All you have to do is reach in your pocket NOW while you are reading this, take out a dollar, write your name and address on the back of the envelope, put your dollar in this envelope, and mail it.

Your response would be so helpful and encouraging to our cause! Thank you!

WHO USES VIOLENCE?

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us, Davis, Barnett and Patterson, who in the South fill the role that Hitler did in Germany."

Will the House Committee go to Montgomery to investigate this Un-American activity? Will it produce a film to show this violence to the country?

Responsibility

Responsibility for this brutality rests upon the arrogant and bigoted Governor of Alabama, who acts as though the laws of Alabama supersede the laws of the United States. He blamed the "agitators" who rode the buses into Alabama. His first reaction was: "I refuse to take responsibility to guarantee their safe passage through Alabama." The Birmingham News (May 21) said: "We, the people, asked for it. We, the people, let the Governor of the great state of Alabama, John Patterson, talk for months in a manner that could easily say to the violent . . . that they were free to do as they pleased when it came to the 'hated' integrationists. We, the people, have let gangs of vicious men hide this state for months."

Responsibility for this outrage rests upon the Police Commissioner in Montgomery, who was informed when the Freedom Riders' bus would arrive, who cynically did not have any police on hand to meet it and protect its passengers. Police came one hour and fifteen minutes later, after the third assault. U.S. marshals were sent into Alabama after the fifth riot in the state, after the Governor had proven his unwillingness to keep order. The Police Commissioner of Montgomery had said: "I have no intention standing guard for a bunch of trouble-makers coming into our city and making trouble."

Southern police attitudes are typified by Birmingham's Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor: "I have said for last twenty years that these out-of-town meddlers were going to cause bloodshed if they kept meddling in the South's business."

KKK

The Alabama Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission reports ". . . the majority of respondents felt that the police did not enjoy the confidence of the Negro citizens to such an extent that the citizens would feel free to summon them for protection . . . The highest recorded vote of non-confidence was for the local officials of Montgomery and the next highest was for those of Birmingham . . . The police use of mounted posses and of vicious dogs . . . were regarded as a greater threat to Negro citizens than anything the police could guard them against . . . 65% of the respondents intimated that local officials give the appearance of working hand in hand with right-wing terrorist groups like the Ku Klux Klan . . . 45% indicated that local officials were known to hold memberships in the Ku Klux Klan or in these right-wing subversive, terrorist organizations . . . 18 out of 46 respondents stated that instances had been reported where judges seemed to be influenced by right-wing, terroristic and subversive organizations like the KKK. 9 of the respondents, however, noted the history-making cases of verdicts against Klansmen by Birmingham and Montgomery judges in cases involving crimes by Klansmen against Negroes."

Pure Courage

Over against ugly sordidness and inhuman cruelty shines the rare courage and utter dedication of white and Negro young Freedom Riders:

Twenty-year-old Diane Nash saying: "We will not stop. There is only one outcome."

William F. Barbee, 19-year-old Negro theological student saying from his hospital bed in Montgomery: "We'll take all the South has to throw and come back for more until segregation is broken for good."

James Zwerg of Wisconsin, from his hospital bed: "We are prepared to die. We want only equality and justice, and we will get it."

A lot has been said in the mass-circulation magazines about national goals and national purposes. One has to look only to the Freedom Riders!

Cool Off?

Attorney-General Robert Kennedy advised: Delay traveling through these two states (Alabama and Mississippi), until the present state of confusion and danger has passed and an atmosphere of reason and normalcy has been restored."

The *Washington Afro-American* (May 27) commented: "Mr. Kennedy appears bent on taking the role of a man who kicks over the pail after milking the cow . . . Young Mr. Kennedy asks Americans to abrogate their constitutional rights to the red-necks and ruffians of Alabama and Mississippi. This is disappointing advice . . . If there were a series of bank robberies, Mr. Kennedy would not dare ask the banks to close."

James Farmer, national director of CORE, Freedom Ride sponsors, from a jail in Jackson, Miss., with 26 other Freedom Riders, said: "The time to act is now."

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, states: "We reject completely . . . the indefensible thesis that citizens who seek to exercise their declared and defined constitutional rights anywhere in their country are provocateurs, or inciters to disorders or violence, or are otherwise disturbers of the public peace and order. When the public peace is based upon denial of constitutional rights . . . and upon suppression of . . . peaceful protestants, then it is not peace, but tyranny."

Mr. I. F. Stone writes, in his *Weekly* (May 29): "The South has too long been enabled to enjoy order at the expense of law . . . Law and order are no longer synonymous but suddenly almost opposites. If the young students in the South persist in insisting that the government uphold the law's guarantee of equal treatment for white and black, there will be disorder. If they and the Negro community are persuaded to sink back into acquiescence, there will again be order."

Judge Frank M. Johnson in Montgomery is enforcing a cool-off by issuing an injunction against the Klan, the Freedom Riders and city officials, equally blaming all three for mob violence, pointedly saying if there were more violence he would "put some Negro preachers in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta."

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. replied: "We have no fear of going to jail. We have transformed jails from dungeons of shame to havens of freedom and justice." Then

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he called on President Kennedy to issue a "second Emancipation Proclamation . . . a firm executive order declaring all racial segregation illegal."

The *New Republic* June 5 says nothing could be less free than the successful Freedom Ride from Montgomery to Jackson—it was an armed military convoy, not free to stop even for a visit to the rest room. "But the Freedom Riders are not going to stop. They are, of course, no sort of provocation. They are perfectly lawful conduct, and it is the duty of all authorities, state and federal, to protect them. They are the marvelously brave, marvelously disciplined vanguard of a peaceful revolution that will not be denied . . . It is a long, hard road, and there's no turning back."

Amid the turmoil, the Greyhound Corporation deserves cheers for the "quiet fortitude and good manners" with which its representatives acted; for adhering to the Supreme Court order against discrimination in terminal waiting rooms and eating places. The day Negro and white Freedom Riders were served for the first time together in the Montgomery bus depot, Negro waitresses "just happened" to be on duty.

The Price

Four Negro ministers in Alabama face economic ruin because of their unswerving stand for civil rights—the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and the Rev. S. S. Seay of Montgomery, the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile, and the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Birmingham. They, with the *New York Times*, are defendants in five libel suits, for \$3,000,000, filed by Governor Patterson of Alabama, the mayor of Montgomery, the police commissioner, a former police commissioner, and a city commissioner, of Montgomery. The suits stem from an ad in the *New York Times* March 29, 1960, signed by these four defendants plus many other prominent Americans, asking help for Negro students and Dr. King, then under indictment for perjury in Alabama in connection with making allegedly untrue statements on his Alabama income tax returns. Dr. King was later acquitted by a jury. The plaintiffs hold they were exposed in the ad to ridicule, though none of them was named.

The four ministers have filed a countersuit, but in the two cases already tried juries have awarded the full amount asked, \$500,000 each. Alabama law requires that a bond twice the amount of the judgments be posted to halt collection of judgments pending appeal (the four ministers are appealing the dismissal of their countersuit, by the Federal District Court in Montgomery). The ministers could not post any such bond, so their automobiles have been seized and sold at public auction. Other little pieces of property they have are scheduled for sale.

Mr. Abernathy says: "We have lost our material possessions, but we have our health and our faith, and we will not give up."

Mr. Shuttlesworth says: "We expect these intimidations, but we know we are right, and we are prepared to lose all that we might gain freedom for our people."

If you wish to help these ministers, in their losses, and in the tremendous costs of carrying these important cases to the higher courts, you may send contributions, marked, Alabama Libel Suits, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Revival of Religion

We doubt not that Methodists and Baptists were in mob in Montgomery.

We believe a revival of real religion is going on in South today, and it is to be found on the picket lines, in the jails, where young whites and Negroes sit, say Jail rather than Bail! I. F. Stone, writing of the non-violent strategy of the sit-inners and the Freedom Riders, says: "It is not surprising that this sudden appearance of literal fidelity to the Gospel should so startle the supposedly pious South that the tactic is blamed on Marx rather than Jesus." Freedom Riders have again made Christianity a revolutionary creed.

The *Nation* June 10 speaks about the declining status of American religion. A spokesman for the United Lutheran Church puts the blame on a "lack of mission"; people go to church because it is the correct thing to do; to show their opposition to atheistic communism; to win social status. Then the magazine comments on the Rev. Wilbur Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain of Yale, who with some of the New England faculty and students, white and Negro, went Freedom Riding to Montgomery and were arrested. When Mr. Coffin came back to New Haven, he preached in Yale Battell Chapel to a congregation of 1,400 students, faculty members and townspeople (standing room only); for what Coffin and his colleagues had done something sensational they had practiced Christianity!

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

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report of internal support is correct"), and then gives the go-ahead by the President, who acknowledges his ultimate responsibility.

The complete failure of the attack has produced a temptation to assign the decision on the timing to the Cuban refugees. This does not square with several facts. In coordinating the various factions of Cuban refugees the CIA, for political reasons, put a group led by Cardona in leadership, and disregarded the warning of the group led by Ray, organizer of the Cuban underground, whose intelligence reports turned out to be more accurate than those of the CIA. At the same time the CIA began planting stories about the need to act before the Soviet planes, in view of Castro's pilots were being trained in Czechoslovakia, came available in Cuba. In this the CIA was second to the Lem Jones public relations firm, paid to produce public opinion in favor of the attack. One of the Lem Jones men was picketing Castro, when he visited here, with women dressed in nuns' costumes.

Finally, when the time to attack came, the Cuban cabinet was detained under guard in an unoccupied building "for fear of leaks." When one of their number escaped, the rest had to be released, by messengers from the President with apologies made at the White House. Their presence there, with all the President had on his agenda, could only be a wonderment.

This whole incident is much more than a blunder by the CIA. It is not merely aid to a Cuban rebellion. It is a policy begun under Eisenhower, and forecast in a campaign of intolerance spoken by Kennedy, based on the premise that

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

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must be overthrown. It is a partnership to this end between our government and the Cuban refugees, the U. S. being the controlling partner.

Violations of Agreements

This whole course of action is in violation of our Neutrality Law and our signed agreements with Latin American governments. On December 23, 1936, we signed the Buenos Aires Protocol of Non-Intervention which declared intervention, both direct or indirect, to be inadmissible. On April 23, 1948, we signed the Charter of the Organization of American States, whose Article 15 declares: "No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal affairs of any other state . . ."

Our Neutrality Law (U. S. Code Title 18, Section 960) penalizes with a fine of not more than \$1000 and imprisonment for not more than three years, "whoever, within the U. S., knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes any part in, any military or naval expedition to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the U. S. is at peace."

The Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, charged with the enforcement of our laws, does not find that this applies to the Cuban expedition because it was not transported from our soil. But it was begun here, some of it was trained here and transported to Nicaragua for embarkation to Cuba, and the rest transported to Guatemala for training and thence to the point of embarkation for Cuba.

Consequences

The reaction to this situation in the press all over the world shows that nothing we have done since the War has so lowered our prestige, practically and morally. The sense of relief from the recklessness of Dulles' brinkmanship is gone. The growing sense of danger from our position of power has been increased. The hollowness of our proclaimed willingness to let other peoples choose their own form of government stands exposed. The validity of our self-righteous claim to moral superiority in international relations is destroyed. That destruction was completed by the reaction throughout Washington to our loss of prestige. With the exception of Senator Morse its concern was entirely with our failure because of inefficiency, with never a mention of the right or wrong of the attempt to overthrow Castro.

The most dangerous result of that attempt is the extent to which it has stimulated the war spirit. A sample of the wires to the President the first day after the defeat of the invasion showed all but 8 out of 800 calling for war. My country, right or wrong! was a growing response in Washington. The President also was shifting his position. On 12 he had said "there will not under any conditions be an intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces." After the invasion, on April 21, he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and the nation over the air, ". . . if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration, then I want it clearly understood that this government will not

hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of our nation."

In support of this he quoted Frankfurter's balance theory concerning security of the state and First Amendment rights, under which the Supreme Court, by 5 to 4, has sent Barenblatt, Uphaus, Wilkinson and Braden to prison, while many more awaiting sentence will have to go. Professor Friedmann, of the Columbia University Law School, comments: "The real meaning of the Kennedy statement is the affirmation of the supremacy of national interests and spheres of influence over the moral and legal restraints of international law."

What Now?

With Kennedy saying "No recriminations," and Eisenhower adding "Don't rake the ashes," investigation of the CIA's conduct in relation to Cuba is proceeding and various proposals for its control are appearing. None of them will be effective unless it changes a provision of the law under which it operates, and cancels the exemption from the constitutional provision that all government agencies shall report their budget to the House and have it approved by the House. The CIA was created by the National Security Act of 1947. In addition to various intelligence duties it was empowered to perform "such additional services and other functions" as the Security Council may direct. In practice this has meant whatever the CIA may choose to do. So in the Cuban situation it became the maker and administrator of policy. As the British are telling us, out of their longer experience, intelligence and the making of policy need to be kept separate.

On the larger issue of what to do about Cuba the administration is maneuvering to get united action by Latin American states to isolate Castro both economically and politically. Our claim is that we are seeking to defend Latin America against an attack by Castro, and against subversion influenced by Castro's ambassadors in other Latin American countries. Castro obviously is in no position to attack anybody else, and as for subversion if his representatives overstep the bounds of usual influence they can be sent home.

The underlying economic factor in CIA behavior, and in our general policy, appeared when Dr. Cardona was picked to head the possible provisional government. He at once announced that he would restore all confiscated property. Castro recently told us he was ready to negotiate on the basis of equality, including the economic question. The reply of the State Department, through its press spokesman, was: "Communism in this hemisphere is not negotiable . . . This is a multilateral, not a bilateral, problem."

Moral Issue

A multilateral attempt to accomplish the overthrow of Castro by isolation is plainly not feasible. Consequently the rejection of negotiation leaves nothing but the military intervention conditionally declared by Kennedy, with its hazard of universal disaster.

This Cuban record leaves some vital questions on the doorsteps of all the headquarters of organized religion. What is the moral nature of a policy whose objective is the overthrow of Castro? Is repentance for the lives it has cost in Cuba called for? Does the trend toward war demand an appeal to the social conscience of the nation?

CHANGE OF NAME? MASTHEAD?

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"Federation" is felt by some to be somewhat formal. One suggestion which has been offered for a new name is "Methodist Fellowship for Social Study and Action."

One sentence in our masthead provokes questioning from some members and prospective members: "The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges." In some ears this sounds somewhat "dated" and "doctrinaire." Others resolutely oppose any modification of this statement, saying that it expresses an absolute requirement for a better society, and when most of the world is now adopting socialist economic patterns, this is no time for the Federation to be altering its historic emphasis. The central issue here is the need, in the modern industrial complex, for social control and planning sufficient to provide full employment and consuming power, and to direct social wealth into those uses which benefit society most. Do you wish any change in this statement? If you do, would you care to suggest what you think is a better phrasing?

Notice that racial justice is not specifically mentioned.

These matters, possible changes in name and masthead, will be put before the annual meeting. We would welcome your judgment.

Fateful Ruling

In what has become a 5-4 pattern, the Supreme Court June 5 upheld a section of the 1950 Internal Security Act requiring "Communist-action" organizations to register with the Government; and it held as constitutional the clause in the Smith Act of 1940 which makes it a crime to be an active member of a party advocating the violent overthrow of the Government.

These requirements are applied to the Communist Party in the U.S. because in 1953 the Subversive Activities Control Board, established by the act of 1950 to determine what organizations are Communist-action or Communist-front groups, held that this party is an agent of a foreign government. President Truman vetoed the Internal Security Act of 1950 as unconstitutional, but Congress passed it over his veto. The Communist Party denies it is under foreign control. In passing the Smith Act in 1940 the Congress again assumed that the Communist Party advocates, in some future time, the violent overthrow of the Government. Such advocacy the Communist Party also denies. Such assumptions are based on the "evidence" furnished to the Congress by its Committee on Un-American Activities, "evidence" which every sophisticated American would regard as something less than proven. But these assumptions are accepted uncritically by the majority opinion of the Court.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 directs Communist-action and Communist-front organizations to register with the Attorney-General. It defines Communist-action groups as those "substantially directed" by a foreign government "controlling the world Communist movement," and Communist-front groups as those substantially controlled by Communist-action organizations.

Requirements

In registering, any group must supply the names of all officers and members within the last year, an accounting of all money received and spent within a year, including the sources of its funds. The registered group loses all tax exemptions, and has to stamp all mail it sends: "Disseminated by _____, a Communist organization." Members of a registered group are barred from government employment, and are forbidden to apply or use a U.S. passport. Any naturalized citizen who joins a registered organization within five years of naturalization is in danger of losing his citizenship.

The case for registration of the Communist Party has been in the courts for eleven years. Justice Frankfurter wrote the majority opinion in the registration case, Justice Harlan wrote the majority opinion declaring membership in the Communist Party to be criminal. The four dissenters were Chief Justice Warren, Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan.

The Court refused to consider now the legal consequences of registration—requirements for mail-stamping and the like—saying these were "premature," and could be challenged later, if anyone tried to apply these sanctions to the party or its members. Party registration only was involved here.

First Amendment?

It had been argued that forced disclosure of members' names would violate the freedom of association guaranteed by the First Amendment because it would discourage persons from joining the party. Justice Frankfurter agreed that in some cases the names of the members of an organization could not constitutionally be exacted. The Supreme Court has so held in the case of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose aims are legal. But he held the Communist Party is a different case, for it is controlled from abroad, and seeks illegal ends by secret means.

Again it was argued that approval of registration for the Communist Party might allow Congress to make any group register "which pursues unpopular political objectives." Justice Frankfurter commented that "nothing which we decide here remotely carries such an implication." He said this statute was confined to foreign-controlled organizations working as part of a world movement.

Fifth Amendment?

The core of the dissenting opinion was that requiring officers of an organization to register would violate their rights under the Fifth Amendment. Justice Douglas went further, holding that the Fifth Amendment also barred forced disclosure of the names of members of an organization. Justice Black dealt with the Internal Security Act as a whole, and found it unconstitutional: as an act of outlawry, a bill of attainder, a denial of due process and violation of the First Amendment. Justice Black wrote:

"The first banning of an association because it advocated hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of free country. That moment seems to have arrived for this country."

Justice Douglas, dissenting in the ruling in the Smith

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FATEFUL RULING—

Act case on membership in the Communist Party, remarked that there was "no charge of any overt act to overthrow the Government by force and violence. Nothing but beliefs are on trial in this case. They are unpopular and to most of us revolting. But they are nonetheless ideas or dogmas or faith within the broad framework of the First Amendment. What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."

Justice Brennan, joined by the Chief Justice and Justice Douglas, dissented on a non-constitutional ground—a clause in the Internal Security Act saying that no one should be prosecuted for membership in the Communist Party "per se." Justice Brennan said this clause had effectively foreclosed enforcement of the Smith Act's membership clause.

Dragnet

These decisions might well open the way for renewed enforcement by the Government of long-dormant internal security measures. A large number of registration proceedings against "Communist front" groups have been held in abeyance pending decision of the Communist Party registration case. On the flimsy criteria on which the Committee on Un-American Activities, The Attorney General and the Subversive Activities Control Board have listed or referred to organizations, and on the basis of these decisions, any religious organization, saying the things religion requires it to say, could be declared a "Communist front," since the communists also have said some of the same things.

Freedom is indivisible. When liberty is diminished for any, it is diminished for all. Harvey O'Connor, of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, stated that this decision "further erodes the basic American rights which have distinguished us from the totalitarian countries." H. H. Wilson of Princeton has remarked that in five years, if the present trend is not checked, all of our constitutional rights will be gone! Courage and unremitting work are needed if we are to get the First Amendment back, and if we are going to keep democracy in our country.

Honor Roll

After a hard month of traveling and speaking, from Los Angeles to Atlanta, Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden surrendered May 1 in Atlanta to the U.S. Marshal to begin serving one-year jail sentences for being in contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They were heard in New York April 21, by 5,000 people, mostly youth.

Anne Braden said of her husband: "I've never been as proud of him as I am today. I'm almost 37 years old, and we've been married 13 years, and I figure we've got a long life ahead of us. It's been a wonderful 13 years in which we've worked together for the things that we think are right."

Indignity

Carl and Frank stood on the First Amendment and voluntarily faced jail, as a matter of conviction. Yet, as a studied insult, they were handcuffed for the ride to Atlanta's Fulton County Jail; and when on May 11 they were moved to the Federal Prison in Greenville, S.C., they were secured in "sally chains"—chains around the waist and down to

the ankle—so they could not run away! A friend wrote: "Damn these Marshals! They don't know who Frank and Carl are!"

Jean Wilkinson writes that Frank and Carl are now at an Honor Camp in Greenville. This camp is integrated, there are no fences, no bars. There is a library, food is good. Prisoners can work outside or inside. Frank and Carl are teaching spelling and arithmetic. Visiting privileges are good, six hours each Saturday and Sunday, with lawyers or family, which can be spent at picnic tables on the grounds. The families may bring food on these week-ends. "This is really an exceptionally fine place," Jean says, "if you have to be in prison."

Four Stout-Hearted Men

The Rev. William Howard Melish, MFSA member, and on the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was with Carl and Frank in Atlanta when they surrendered, and wrote this moving account for our *Social Questions Bulletin*:

"It has been given me to watch four close and cherished friends go to prison for conscience' sake. The first was Richard Morford, sentenced for contempt of Congress because he would not surrender to the House Committee on Un-American Activities the lists of members and contributors to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and thereby endanger the lives and livelihood of thousands of loyal citizens who had supported that organization in good faith. I felt that he went to prison for me as well as all those others, and ever since have tried to stand by him and the cause to which he is giving his unusual energies and talents.

"The second was Willard Uphaus, target of a politically conscious state attorney-general, who chose to risk spending the balance of his life in a county jail rather than yield the constitutional right of free speech, free assembly and the free exercise of a religion that involves social concern for our common humanity.

"To these gallant friends have been added two others: my colleague, Carl Braden, and Frank Wilkinson. Once again it has been my privilege to watch men set their faces steadfastly towards Jerusalem.

"We met in a restaurant in New York (the evening of April 29, with a group of students). Frank Wilkinson has visited campus after campus, appealing to college students as no man I have witnessed in recent years. These young people could not part from him, and we piled into cars for the Newark Airport . . .

"After a turbulent night flight (to Atlanta) we attended the meeting of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund in the undercroft of the United Liberal Church . . .

Learning the Hard Way

"Towards the end of the proceedings, throughout which Carl Braden played an important part, an invitation was given to Frank Wilkinson to speak . . . He spoke with a simplicity and eloquence such as I have rarely heard. He told how he had been raised in a well-to-do middle-class family on the West Coast, had gone to college, and graduated with no knowledge of the world and no sense of purpose or vocation. Having means and time to burn, he and a friend started around the world. In India he first saw

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HONOR ROLL

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poverty and the gulf between his own vacuous life and that of the vast majority of the world. Returning to Los Angeles, he dedicated himself to public housing, and became a creative figure in that area. Growing in experience and imaginative outreach, he and his associates planned a vast development for the underprivileged, in Chavez Canyon. Then it was that House Committee on Un-American Activities came into the picture, the housing authority was attacked and destroyed, and today Chavez Canyon is the site of the new Dodger Ball Park.

"This gave Frank Wilkinson his insight into the true anti-social function of the House Committee and converted him into one of its militant opponents. When Carl Braden was subpoenaed and compelled to appear in Atlanta before this committee to answer questions about the integration movement, Frank Wilkinson went there as an observer . . . A subpoena from the House Committee was awaiting him when he arrived in Atlanta. Feeling as strongly as he did, he appeared but challenged the constitutionality of the Committee on First Amendment grounds. This is how he and Carl were brought together.

"We Shall Overcome"

"Following the SCEF board meeting, there was a reception on the campus of Morehouse College, a Negro school in Atlanta, where student leaders had a chance to greet these prominent Southern integrationists. Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., attended the reception. At the close, the Norfolk attorney, Len Holt, asked all present to form a circle and join hands and sing the theme song of the sit-ins, We Shall Overcome. Then he called on Dr. King, who said two simple yet deeply significant things: first, that 'These two men are going to prison for us'; and second, 'We are learning that if we want civil rights, we must fight for civil liberties.' Carl and Frank were deeply moved, as were the rest of us . . . because we knew that up to now Negro leaders, and especially national Negro organizations, have not identified their struggle for civil rights with the struggle for civil liberties . . . For this reason, what Dr. King was saying marked the crossing of the Rubicon, and we rejoiced to learn that, in keeping with it, he was joining with other Southern leaders in initiating a petition for clemency for Braden and Wilkinson to be sent to the President . . .

"Dr. James Dombrowski, Carl and Anne Braden, Frank Wilkinson, Charlotte Pomerantz (a New York student) and I spent the final evening talking together in our hotel room. For me, it was unforgettable, these last hours with friends. Having been in prison before, and two months in solitary, Carl was aware of what he must expect, and knew that he could endure it, and hence was philosophical and stoical. Frank, a deeply sensitive personality, was apprehensive of the unknown . . .

"On the plane flying home I was suddenly overwhelmed by the resurrected memory of my feelings when I left Richard Morford after my first visit to him in West Street Prison (in New York), and then by the recollection of Willard Uphaus standing behind the hastily-improvized chicken-wire barrier in Boscawen County Jail (in New Hampshire). These good men enduring these humiliations and privations in the United States because they care enough to defend rights that most of us are yielding through apathy,

indifference or, what is worst, timidity and cowardice!

"Is there anything we can do. I asked myself. I knew the answer. Help circulate the petition for clemency initiated by Dr. King and his associates, directed to the President; work for the abolition of these free-wheeling Congressional committees that are destroying our civil liberties; and, first and foremost, help our brethren in the churches and synagogues to realize the issue that is at stake, if we do not speak out and organize and fight—our right to exercise our religious faith with its social imperatives and impact! Morford, Uphaus, Wilkinson and Braden are men whose motivations stem from religious up-bringing and religious ethical insights. Let the churches and synagogues ponder this fact, and then act!"

Free to Speak?

The Atlanta Constitution said: "What is at issue here is whether the freedoms in the Bill of Rights are absolutes. Are they? Are Americans free to speak *period*? Or are they to speak *only* . . . when the government doesn't have a good reason for us not to? Now is the time for men to choose sides."

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham said in his column in the *Pittsburgh Courier*: "There should be a ground-swell of indignation against this decision."

Aubrey Williams, Southern Conference chairman, remarked: "Just as the Un-American Committee under Martin Dies set out to destroy the New Deal, so now the Un-American Committee moves in wherever people are trying to do good—in the integration movement, in the peace movement, in public housing, wherever there's a movement to help people."

The Daytona Beach Morning Journal said the Un-American Committee was "equating the integration movement with communism."

Labor, published by 21 railroad brotherhoods, contrasted the one-year prison terms given Braden and Wilkison with the 30-day sentences given seven high officials of electrical companies for price rigging that took several billion dollars out of the pockets of American consumers.

One Southern integration leader, signing the clemency petition, said: "The vote of one Supreme Court Justice is sending these men to jail, but one man in the White House can free them."

Comfort

Joanne Grant writes beautifully in the *National Guardian* that perhaps the best comfort for Frank and Carl is the knowledge that their children understand. Jimmie Braden, aged ten, went with his father to the Marshal's office in Atlanta and said: "The First Amendment means that Congress has no right at all to ask people about what they believe and the people they associate with. And that people have the right to assemble—with anybody they want to, that is."

Frank's teen-age daughter, Jo, wrote to her father: "I was just thinking how lots of people try to be something else because they don't like their parents . . . So I was thinking about this and I've come to the very brilliant conclusion that I wouldn't want to be anybody else in the whole world. I wouldn't want to change any member of my family . . . I think I am one of the most lucky girls in this big sick world and I wouldn't give myself up for anybody or anything."

"Operation Abolition" Refuted

In the film "Operation Abolition" the narrator, Fulton III, quotes J. Edgar Hoover on the "cause" of the riot in San Francisco: "One of the demonstrators provided the spark that touched off the flame of violence. Leaping a barricade that had been erected, he grabbed an officers' night stick and began beating the officer over the head. The mob surged forward . . . and a police inspector ordered the fire hoses turned on . . ."

Of the 64 students arrested, only Robert Meisenbach, accused by the FBI, the San Francisco police, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities of being the one who "touched off" the riot, was held for trial. He was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, the penalty was a maximum sentence of ten years. On May 3 he was acquitted in a jury trial.

Patrolman Ralph Schaumleffel had testified that while he was down, hunting for his nightstick, he was hit on the head.

Meisenbach said he was beaten by Schaumleffel, but did not strike back.

Two prosecution witnesses contradicted the patrolman, five defense witnesses said they seen no student assault on any police. Two said they had seen Meisenbach stumble over a night stick, pick it up and toss it out of the way. A member of the State Democratic Central Committee said he did not see Schaumleffel fall, saw no surge toward the barricades, nor any student violence. The Bay Area Students Committee to Abolish HUAC report that there are no shots in the film of Meisenbach hitting the policeman for the simple reason that none exist. One student did testify that he saw a policeman holding a student's head down, hitting him with his club. Later he saw this student, slouched in an alcove, handcuffed, blood running out of his mouth.

Defense attorney Jack Berman said to the press: "This (acquittal verdict) knocks the film 'Operation Abolition' into the creek, and nails the lies in the original police department reports . . . It is a direct blow to the House Committee on Un-American Activities given by twelve impartial citizens who finally heard the facts."

Main Point Given Away

A telegram to the Religious Freedom Committee reports:

"This is an accurate transcription of part of a tape-recorded debate between Fulton Lewis III, narrator of the film Operation Abolition, and Dr. David Kettler, assistant professor of political science, concerning the film and HUAC, at Ohio State University, sponsored by the Student Senate and the Young Republican Club May 31.

"Question to Fulton Lewis III: 'The question then is concerning the demonstration taking place *outside* the building (emphasis added). Were these (demonstrators), or were these not, communist dupes or communist-led?'

"Lewis: 'The picket lines themselves were led by Richard Chesney. Dick Chesney is a sincere libertarian who did an excellent job in controlling the picket lines . . . They were consciously and conscientiously attempting to keep their hands clean of communist agitation . . .'

"Kettler: 'Let me comment very briefly upon that an-

swer: I take it that this is the first that all of us who have seen this film have heard from anyone in any way connected with the film about Mr. Chesney or about the fact that the picketers whose pictures were shown again and again and again in connection with the narrative about communist infiltration—again and again throughout the film—this is the first time that we have heard that this group was under the control of individuals who were militantly anti-communist.' (Applause)."

Oregon Activity

The *Portland Oregonian* May 12 reported the action of the Portland City Council in denying, 5 to 0, the application of the Freedom Center for a license to solicit \$88,000. The group still has the right to solicit by direct mail and by radio appeals.

Walter Huss, its leader, founded Freedom Center after attending a one-week school conducted by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the money was to be used to fight "communism."

Granting of the license was opposed by representatives of the Greater Portland Council of Churches, the Portland Ministerial Association, the Methodist Ministers Association, B'nai B'rith, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and students from Portland State College.

Arguing with the Freedom Center for the license was the American Civil Liberties Union, representatives of the Multnomah Bible College, and the Four Square church.

City commissioner Stanley W. Earl, who opposed Mr. Huss' request, said the Freedom Center was not fighting communism as much as it was fighting the churches, the U.N., integration, the Supreme Court, the National Council of Churches, Americans for Democratic Action, and even ex-president Eisenhower.

William Boland, president of the Portland Council of Churches, said both he and the Council had been smeared and slandered by Huss and accused of harboring communists because of their liberal stand against segregation and for protecting the rights of minority groups.

Charles Davis, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union of Oregon, said denial of the permit would be deemed a serious infringement of free speech and assembly.

The *Christian Century* commended "the courage of the Portland city council in probing behind the patriotic label . . . Anti-communism is too serious a matter to be turned over to fanatical groups which attack legitimate American institutions and respected individuals, which sow hatred and suspicion . . . and so play into communist hands."

Will They Learn?

Our Mark Chamberlain was active in alerting the groups which appeared before the Portland City Council and won the vote. April 20 he filed a suit for \$35,000 damages against Walter Huss and his Freedom Center, both as an individual and as executive secretary of the Oregon Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The libel action was based on a letter circulated by Huss last October

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OREGON ACTIVITY

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23, asking support for the deportation of Mackie and MacKay as "proven Communist Party members" and because "today they still maintain association with Communist front organizations, such as the Committee for the Protection for the Foreign Born and the Methodist Federation for Social Action." The suit charges that this accusation is false and libelous, and was circulated maliciously to inflame and excite persons against the plaintiff and the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and for the personal profit and gain for the defendant.

The *Christian Century* (May 24) reports that a Methodist minister in California, the Rev. Arthur E. Harrington, has filed a suit for \$150,000 damages against Robert Welch, of the John Birch Society, for falsely identifying him as a communist. The Jesuit weekly *America* comments: "We know nothing about the Reverend Mr. Harrington beyond what we read in the papers, but we like his spirit . . . Nothing would do Mr. Welch and his associates more good than to be confronted on every possible occasion with the blunt 'Put up or Shut up.'"

Portland Peace Workshop

The Oregon Chapter of the MFSA held its fourth annual Peace Workshop, one of its most successful, in Portland's Washington Hotel, May 27-28. Dr. Holland Roberts of San Francisco predicted world disarmament in five years, because (1) the science of killing has reached the stage where an all-out H-bomb, chemical and bacteriological war can destroy the total population of the earth (2) the people of the nations are revolting against the unbearable tensions of living under the threat of a world-wide Hiroshima (3) the cost of killing and guarding against killing has become too great.

The Conference sent a letter to Senator Morse commending his inquiry into the U.S. role in the invasion of Cuba: "We cannot have peace and maintain moral leadership in the world when our own leaders fail to exhibit honesty and frankness in official utterances, and take wrongful and immoral action against another nation."

Under Mark Chamberlain's leadership, the Oregon Chapter has stimulating meetings every Sunday evening, in the Finnish Workers' Hall, 3425 N. Montana Avenue, Portland, 6:00-8:30.

What MFSA Members Are Doing

Mrs. Charles L. Shaw, 47 Whitethorne Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, was named the Outstanding Church Woman of Columbus for 1960, for her many church activities.

Mrs. Elizabeth Soley helps conduct a World Affairs Center in Westport, Conn. The Center is backed by some of the leading people in the area, and is significant, because it has been picketed by members of the Christian Anti-Communist League and the John Birch Society.

Dr. J. Spencer Kennard, Jr. spoke on "China—Distortions in the News," in the Continental Ballroom, Newark, May 19.

Aubrey Williams, speaking in the Central Methodist

Church, Detroit, at a Wilkinson-Braden meeting, referring to the Un-American Activities Committee: "Never have so many been intimidated by so few."

The Rev. Edgar W. Wahlberg, Dearborn, contributed an article to the *Michigan Christian Advocate* April 6: "When Silence Is Not Golden."

The Rev. W. Bailey Waltmire, Inkster, Michigan, suffered his fifth heart attack in April. He is now recovered, has retired from parish work, and is moving to 318 Russell Avenue, Ames, Iowa.

Our oldest member, William Campbell Wasser, formerly minister of the University Park Methodist Church, Denver, made a contribution to the Japan International Christian University. In response, a cherry tree was sent from Japan, planted in the Denver churchyard April 30 in a ceremony at which Dr. Wasser was the guest of honor.

The Rev. Thomas Rehorn, Davenport, Nebraska, cooperating with neighboring churches, had Charles Wells (Between-the-Lines) for a five-night Forum in April.

William Mackie wrote from Helsinki April 18: "The MFSA has done a lot to bring about the return of a better spirit of freedom and justice . . . Although the struggle has been a hard one, Federation members have stood firm in their thoughts and actions for more respect and dignity in everyday living."

Jeanette Turner (NY) is helping Stephen Fritchman develop support for the April 6 demonstration by the Japan Council against A and H Bombs. These annual demonstrations began in 1955.

The Rev. and Mrs. Carl Bergsten of Chillicothe, Missouri, are attending the conference in Oslo in August.

Dr. James L. Hupp, 70, is retiring from the faculty of West Virginia Wesleyan. The Charleston (W. Va.) *May 7 Sunday Gazette-Mail*, credits his leadership with the fact that his school was perhaps the first Methodist school in West Virginia to admit Negro students. He was a witness in one of the four cases on which the historic Supreme Court ruling of 1954 was based. Dr. Hupp is secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Dr. Hupp says "We must begin in the first grade to develop belief in . . . the dignity of men . . . whatever the color of their skins."

The Rev. Albert Allinger, who has been minister in Cranford, New Jersey, 17 years, marked the 100th Anniversary of the parish April 9. Dr. Allinger has led in the building of a new church, parsonage and educational building.

The Rev. Warren Sheen, Denville, New Jersey, is beginning the building of a new church.

During Dr. Loyd F. Worley's illness, a beautiful tribute was sent to his church board (First Methodist, Hartford) from 14 religious congregations in the city, including Humanist, Jewish, Negro, Unitarian, Quakers, Roman Catholic, all the way to Episcopalian: "May we thank you for having as your minister, a man whose presence in this community has made a vibrant thing of that finest of American traditions, freedom."

Dr. J. Edward Carothers (Schenectady) participated in the NBC panel, "Do the Churches and Labor Have Anything to Say to Each Other?" on June 11, in the "Frontier

WHAT MFSA MEMBERS ARE DOING

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Faith" series produced by the National Council of Churches.

The Rev. Andrew Juvinall (California) contributed an article, "I Walked Where They Worked," to the April issue of "Religion and Labor."

Clara Vincent and Alice Herz (Detroit) spoke up in a radio program, "Phone Opinion," in April, on Cuba and Foreign Policy. Clara Vincent contributes a new phrase, "status-woe."

Dr. Clarence T. R. Nelson was the first Methodist Negro in Ohio to be given a life membership in the Ohio Pastors' Convention, the largest in the country, May 23. The award was presented at 92nd annual session of the Lexington Conference, held in Centenary church, Akron. Dr. Charles Talbert, MFSA member, was host pastor.

Dr. Sumpter M. Riley, Jr., of Cleveland, at this same conference presented a resolution (which was adopted) criticizing the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations for their slowness in enforcing the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 ordering desegregation of schools.

Wendell Kramer writes of his work in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. He is rural supervisor of the Montero area, goes by bicycle through jungle trails to establish 4-H clubs, cooperatives, and to teach better agricultural methods, in this primitive region.

Lee H. Ball, on his visit in March to Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, found one major from the Army and two colonels from the Air Force studying for the ministry.

Lee H. Ball spoke at the Legislative meeting, in New York, of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, May 20; and was in the group welcoming Mrs. Louise Pettibone Smith when she returned to New York on the "Bremen" June 1, after her year in Europe.

Mr. Ball represented the MFSA at the New York East Conference May 25, and at the Newark Conference June 8.

A letter from Hamish Scott MacKay (969 East 27th Avenue, Vancouver, B. C., Canada): "(The MFSA) is doing a wonderful work in pointing up the need for every thinking person to become concerned about the loss of our civil liberties . . . It isn't pleasant to be torn away from our family after being a family man for 57 years, to a place where you can not find work and have to find room and board among strangers. Even if the people are friendly and nice to you it is like being an outcast, with too much on your hands that has to be taken up . . . walking down town looking for work when you know there isn't any . . . People seem not so fearful about signing petitions here. The atmosphere is not so depressing, people are not as afraid to talk politics here either." Mr. MacKay said the Mayor of Vancouver, labor leaders, all members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation in the Legislative Assembly in Victoria, and other prominent persons had signed the petition for his return to the U.S., and the return of William Mackie.

The Rev. Frederick E. Ball of Chicago, MFSA Vice-President, faces a transfer from his church because he expressed his sympathy with the stand of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

CROSS-COUNTRY

Lee Ball was on the road April 3-May 3, drove 7000 miles. His log:

- April 3- 4: Rochester, N.Y. State Pastor's Conventions. One interview in the city.
- 5- 6: Cleveland. 9 interviews. Host: Ed Brown.
- 6: Huron, Ohio: "Operation Abolition." Host: J. Clyde Keegan.
- 7- 9: Toledo: Host: Tony Drake. Luncheon with 16 Methodist Ministers. 10 interviews. Preached for Tony Drake.
- 10-12: Detroit: Host, Edgar Wahlberg 15 at evening meeting. 14 interviews including Bishop J. Waskorn Pickett and Henry Hitt Crane.
- 13: 4 interviews across Michigan.
- 14-17: Chicago: Host, Fred Ball. Preached for Fred Ball. 14 interviews. Sunday evening meeting snowed out.
- 17: Milwaukee: Host, Frederick MacKenzie. Evening conversation, 3 present.
- 18: Madison, Wisconsin: 3 calls across Iowa.
- 19: Across Nebraska.
- 20-21: Spoke at Iliff Chapel, meeting with a dozen students, spoke in two Iliff classes. 9 interviews in Denver and Boulder.
- 22: 4 interviews through Nebraska.
- 23: Preached for Joseph Thompson, my host, Laclede, Missouri, 4 interviews.
- 24: St. Louis. Host, Don Everhart. Evening conversation. 2 present.
- 25: Iowa Wesleyan, cookout with George LaMore and student group.
- 26: Illinois Wesleyan: Chapel service and three classes arranged by James Whitehurst. 2 interviews.
- 27: Cornell College, Iowa. Spoke in Albion Ray King's Class, to faculty luncheon of 16 arranged by Dr. King, and at vespers. 2 interviews in Belle Plaine, including a visit to Mrs. Jesse Mall.
- 28: Columbus, Ohio: Host, Clarence Nelson. Visit with A. Donald Hackler, director of the Wesley Foundation at Ohio State University. 2 interviews.
- 29: Covington, Ky. Calls on Mrs. William Sexton, Mrs. Beulah Arndt, Dr. Jesse L. Murrell. Mt. Sterling, Ohio: Host, Jack Klein, Evening conversations with 18.
- 30: Two sermons for Jack Klein, One interview.

- May 1: Lunch with President Carl Bracy of Mt. Union College. Alliance, Ohio, interview with the editor of the student paper. Visits to MFSA members in Hiram and Warren, Ohio. Host, Ben Crawford, Delaware, Ohio.
- 2: The Methodist Theological School, Delaware, Ohio. Interviews with faculty members and students.
- Visit to James Leslie, Religious Director, Ohio Wesleyan. Interviews with faculty members and students. Two calls in Delaware.

Lee Ball expresses appreciation for the outgoing cordiality with which he was everywhere received, the graciousness of hosts and hostesses. He had more invitations to colleges than he was able to accept.

He heard two things. One was that the MFSA is as much needed as ever, "strong, independent and radical," as George Lackland in Toledo put it. The other is that all liberals are in for a rough time from the rightists.

RECOMMENDED READING

"Mark It and Strike It", by Steve Allen, the too-serious comedian who lost his spot on a national T V network because, some say, of his concern with the Chessman case, others say due to his work with SANE and worry about fallout.

"Cuba Revisited," by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, December 1960 Monthly Review.

"Listen, Yankee!", by C. Wright Mills, the Cuban side of the story, December 1960 Harper's. Also paperback, Ballantine Books, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, 50 cents.

"The Population Explosion and Christian Responsibility," by Richard M. Fagley.

"People", by William Vogt.

"Babies by Choice or by Chance", by Alan F. Guttmacher.

"Peaceable Lane," by Keith Wheeler. Novel. What happens when a Negro tries to buy a house in New York's Westchester County.

January 21, 1961: "Inside the Soviet Economy" Harper's: January 1961; Easy Chair: "Dodd vs. Tynan—A Debate on Congressional Investigations."

February 1961: "Mr. Justice Black, The Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights," by Charles L. Black, Jr. Monthly Review: December 1960: "Cuba Revisited"—The Editors

January 1961: "The Economics of Insanity"—The Editors "Reflections on the Cuban Revolution"—Paul A. Baran Life: January 13: "The Mess in Laos."

January 27: "Starvation in China," editorial, recommending sending surplus American food. Concern: January 15: "Operation Abolition—An Honest Film?"—Robert W. Moon.

February 1: "The Futility of Civil Defense"—Robert W. Moon Christian Century: January 4: "Operation Abolition"—Robert W. Moon.

February 1: "Why a Doctored Film?" editorial on H. U. A. C. film.

February 8: "Assessing the Steel Strike"—Clair M. Cook Nation: January 21: "Forgotten Remedy for the Voteless Negro"—Thomas I. Emerson and Arthur E. Bonfield

January 28: "Un-American Plays the Colleges"—Dan Wakefield

February 4: "Equality Now"—Martin Luther King, Jr. New Republic: February 6: "Nuclear Pacifism"—Robert W. Tucker: Reflections on the Community of Fear. National Guardian: January 9: "The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science"—C. P. Snow

"In Place of Folly"—Norman Cousins. The case for sanity and survival in place of the folly of atomic war. Harper & Brothers, N. Y. 16, \$3.

SUMMER

The next issue, July-August, will report on the annual meeting.

Students and others on vacation are requested to send their summer addresses.

ACTION

Ask President Kennedy to grant clemency to Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden.